

Lawson, L. and Kearns, A. (2019) Changing contexts and critical moments: interim outcomes for children and young people living through involuntary relocation. *Housing Studies*, 34(4), pp. 636-665.  
(doi: [10.1080/02673037.2018.1468418](https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2018.1468418))

There may be differences between this version and the published version. You are advised to consult the publisher's version if you wish to cite from it.

<http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/160421/>

Deposited on 16 April 2018

Enlighten – Research publications by members of the University of  
Glasgow

<http://eprints.gla.ac.uk>

# **Changing Contexts, Critical Moments and Transitions: Interim Outcomes for Children and Young People living through Involuntary Relocation**

Louise Lawson and Ade Kearns, Urban Studies, University of Glasgow

## **Abstract**

The aim of this article is to understand how involuntary relocation - in the context of transformational regeneration - affects children and young people's (CYP) interim outcomes through its impacts on residential contexts, and its intersections with their transitions and critical moments. Findings are based on a longitudinal qualitative study of 13 families (comprising 32 CYP) lives as they relocated from high rise flats to different housing and neighbourhoods over three years. Relocation altered two key contexts directly – home and neighbourhood – and may have indirectly altered the other contexts - peers, school and family. However, we found there were as many non-relocation related factors as relocation factors associated with outcomes, and a number of significant critical moments affecting CYP's lives. Whilst relocation can seem the 'big thing' from the point of view of practitioners and researchers, from the perspective of CYP it can seem a small part of the much bigger picture of change in their lives.

## **Introduction**

Involuntary relocation, due to the demolition of social housing estates, is a common phenomenon in the UK and further afield yet little is known about its consequences and outcomes, particularly with regard to children and young people (CYP). For CYP relocation can be considered a significant life event in their transitions, and can have a major impact on the child or young person (Mooney, Oliver, & Smith, 2009). Alternatively it is possible that relocation may be experienced as insignificant and part and parcel of the process of growing up. Whilst there is a growing literature in the field of youth sociology about growing up in deprived neighbourhoods (e.g. Johnston et al, 2000; Holland et al, 2007) and on youth transitions and health (e.g. Furlong, 2002), there is little known about how involuntary relocation inter-connects with these other phenomena. Relocation occurs alongside critical moments in young people's lives, and intersects with other personal transitions: it is this nexus of events and processes that we aim to understand. In this article we examine CYP's interim outcomes as they experience involuntary relocation, based on a longitudinal qualitative study that followed a sample of 32 CYP over a period of three years moving from high rise flats that were being demolished to different types of housing and neighbourhoods. We start with an overview of the

context for involuntary relocation offering a critical perspective. We then introduce a framework for the analysis of CYP outcomes by considering the literatures in three fields – residential contexts, evidence from relocation studies, and youth transitions and ‘critical moments’ – before using the framework in our analysis and presentation of findings.

## **Background**

The United States and several European countries have implemented substantial neighbourhood renewal programmes with the *explicit* aim of improving the lives and prospects of deprived neighbourhoods and their residents through the relocation of residents from social housing scheduled for demolition (e.g. Popkin et al, 2004). The idea behind the HOPE VI programme in the US, for instance, is that households move to neighbourhoods with lower concentrations of poverty, where they will enjoy improved dwelling and neighbourhood conditions, and that through more contacts with positive role models they will strengthen their socio-economic position (Popkin, 2004).

In the UK, involuntary relocation is more a by-product of urban regeneration. Urban regeneration refers to policies directed at tackling social, economic, physical and environmental problems within urban areas. Area-based regeneration aims to improve places, and also supports policies that more directly target people, for example through promoting positive behaviour change (Dodds, 2011). These programmes of structural and social change in urban environments have been often used to reduce health inequalities via the socio-economic determinants of health. They usually involve complex packages of ‘components’, such as employment, education, income, crime and housing interventions (Petticrew, 2011: 397). There is the *implicit* policy assumption in the UK that relocation through regeneration, will contribute to health improvement and reduce social and spatial inequalities in health (Egan et al, 2010).

The term transformational regeneration in Glasgow – where our study is based - describes the “radical reshaping of neighbourhoods” (Gowell, 2007: 13). It is used to indicate extensive physical and community regeneration of predominantly social rented estates, where the housing (mainly high rise flats) has been demolished. Neighbourhoods will become mixed tenure with private housing in the majority, and will have new or improved amenities, including in some cases new schools, community centres, shopping centres, and good quality green space (GHA, 2005). To enable the regeneration to take place - the process takes several years – most of the original inhabitants whose homes are being demolished are relocated to other areas, whilst a minority ‘wait it out’ to eventually be allocated a newly built home in the area. Thus, the benefits of the regenerated areas are not passed on to the majority of their original residents who have moved away.

In the UK there are criticisms that regeneration destabilises working class communities (Lees & Ley, 2008; Bridge et al, 2011). The large-scale clearance and demolition of over 30,000 homes as part of the Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders Scheme in England (2002 – 2011), was criticised as being top-down, destroying neighbourhoods and abandoning and displacing many families (Wilson, 2013). Terminology such as forced relocation, displacement, dispersal, social segregation, and gentrification have often been used to describe regeneration processes involving relocation. This has particularly been the case in London where there have been recent cases of tenants being ‘forced’ out of the city, away from family and support networks, to places where living costs and rents are higher, a process which is seen as mainly “meeting the needs of better off Londoners” (RTPI, 2014). Research with residents on the demolished Aylesbury Estate in London found that displacement led to isolation, disruptions to education and employment, depression and suicide (Lees, 2014, 2016). There have been publicised criticisms of for example the Myatt Fields Estate in north London, a Private Finance Initiative (PFI) scheme of which demolition was an aspect (e.g. The Guardian, 2017b). It was found to undermine other government policy agendas around tenant participation, community empowerment and sustainable mixed communities (Hodkinson, 2011).

Much of the narrative in this field is based on the views and experiences of displaced tenants, housing campaigners and academics through newspaper articles, blogs, campaign websites and handbooks. Powers (2016) is critical of government regeneration policy and the demolition of council estates, writing on her blog (LSE): “...tenants will be frightened by the insecurity, the higher rents, the community upheaval”; and, “the disruption, instability, uncertainty, blight and area damage it causes means that thousands of children’s life chances will be threatened”. Lees (2016) in her blog (The Conversation) talked about “displaced” communities being “socially cleansed”. The Guardian newspaper in particular regularly publishes critical articles about social housing, regeneration and demolition, primarily located in London (e.g. Guardian 2016a, b, 2017a,b). It has been suggested that more research is needed to understand residents’ lived experiences in this respect, and to gain understanding of what displacement – or relocation – means for social networks and personal life chances (e.g. Hodkinson, 2011).

Context is however important and relevant. The examples indicated previously demonstrate that many people and communities (especially from London social housing estates) have lacked agency in the processes of relocation making them feel disempowered. In US renewal programmes, Goetz (2002) made the distinction between ‘voluntary mobility’ and ‘forced relocation’, with involuntary movers more satisfied with some aspects of neighbourhood amenities and services, but less likely than voluntary movers to report neighbouring behaviours among adults or good social relations among children. Some families may have already decided to move for other reasons beforehand: for them, urban restructuring may present an opportunity (Kleinhans, 2003). Moreover,

even families wanting to stay put are likely to have some preferences with regard to a new home and neighbourhood (Bolt, van Kempen, & van Weesep, 2009).

Having choice and agency are important factors that can determine satisfaction and successful outcomes from involuntary relocation (Kleinhans and Varady 2011). In Glasgow, many of the families moving from transformational regeneration areas were given the option of new build housing in neighbourhoods very close to their origin estates. There were several elements of the relocation process which offered choice and a degree of control to tenants (Kearns and Darling 2013a): tenants were generally only offered alternative accommodation in one of up to six locations they had identified on an allocations form, with exceptions to this being families requiring very large units; tenants were offered alternative properties of at least the size they were currently in, which might be larger than they are deemed to require; and housing staff sometimes exceeded the required ‘three reasonable offers’ to be made to each tenant. There is also evidence from Glasgow of some degree of empowerment for CYP within the negotiations and process of relocation (Lawson and Kearns, 2016). It is important therefore to take the wider context of the relocation process into account, and to have a theoretical understanding of the factors or mechanisms that may be operative for CYP rather than to assume their relocation outcomes are either wholly negative or positive.

## **Framework**

As a framework for considering how CYP might be affected by involuntary relocation, we combine the residential contexts literature from Urban Studies with the critical moments and transitions literatures from Youth Studies in three stages. We start by examining the key factors that influence CYP outcomes in a residential context. We go on to consider what the [limited] evidence from relocation studies tells us about how these aspects of the residential context are affected by relocation. The third stage identifies the youth transitions and “critical moments” that may occur concurrently with relocation, and with which relocation intersects.

Based on the literature, the outcomes we regard as of importance to CYP include: skills and credentials (school achievement), health and wellbeing, supportive social and family relationships, and aspirations and purpose (see Anderson et al, 2014; Holloway et al, 2010). These might be described as the foundations for a healthy and purposeful adulthood. There is, however, not always a clear-cut distinction between the factors leading to an outcome (its means) and the outcome itself, for example more neighbourhood opportunities may lead to better social relationships, but having opportunities may also be considered an outcome in its own right especially if these did not previously exist. This conundrum – the relationship between means and outcomes - has been observed in other studies. One example is in the development of a conceptual framework for understanding integration in relation to refugees and other migrants (Ager and Strang, 2008) which contains several

key 'domains'. Employment, housing, education and health are viewed as 'markers and means' to integration but they are also often considered by others to be outcomes or indicators of integration itself. It is important therefore to bear in mind this blurry relationship. In this study we use the term interim outcomes as we cannot be certain of the outcomes of childhood until CYP reach settled adulthood. The resultant framework is shown in Figure 1, wherein we consider the interim outcomes of interest here to be contributors to the foundation for adulthood, the ultimate outcome of childhood and youth-hood.

Insert Figure 1

### ***Residential Contexts***

Several aspects of the residential contexts are known to influence CYP's outcomes, including the neighbourhood, home, school, peers and friendship networks and family, as shown in the left half of Figure 1. The over-arching context for this study in Glasgow is one of deprivation and high levels of socioeconomic disadvantage. Growing up in a poor neighbourhood has negative effects on CYP, for example poorer health and educational outcomes (Brooks-Gunn et al, 1997; Sampson et al, 2002; Leventhal, 2000). Features of neighbourhoods considered important for children include the availability of green space, friendly people, positive role models, good quality services, good transport access, places to gather and good schools (Mee, 2010; Hume et al, 2005; Mota et al, 2002). Children who have better access to safe places are more likely to be physically active (Gordon-Larsen et al, 2006).

Poor housing may have an impact on CYP's mental health, increasing children's chances of experiencing stress, anxiety and depression (Thomson et al, 2002). Having a comfortable and secure home on the other hand has been identified as critical to family wellbeing both physically and psychosocially (Bratt, 2002). The home may also be viewed as a protective environment, especially for those individuals who live in deprived neighbourhoods (Michael and Gaver, 2009). The sense of belonging or safety gathered from the home environment may reflect positive interactions and routines that form the backdrop of everyday life (Lefebvre, 2002). For some groups, particularly asylum-seekers and refugees, the home can be regarded as a place of refuge from hostile public places (Spicer, 2008).

Schools are important in supporting CYP and influencing their outcomes. The idea of 'good schools' however is contentious in that schools in poor areas are often viewed negatively whereas the quality of the teaching staff and resources may be excellent (Lupton, 2005). Social capital has been linked to young people's sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and community (Schaefer-Mcdaniel, 2004; Holland et al., 2007), and strong social support networks are associated with better mental health outcomes, more health-promoting behaviours and fewer behavioural problems

(McPherson et al., 2013). The peer group becomes important as children grow up, as they are seen to spend more time with friends and interactions with family either remain constant or decrease (Helsen et al, 2000, Waters et al, 2014).

For CYP of asylum seeker and refugee families, ‘places of inclusion’ tend to be neighbourhoods with histories of immigration – described as safe places having inclusive local resources enabling people to develop social bonds offering practical and emotional support. Parents report that their social bonds in inclusive neighbourhoods are an important source of emotional support that helps to offset depression, stress and anxieties stemming from poverty and managing their daily lives (Spicer, 2008).

The family has been discussed as the “single most influential of external influences, being the earliest, the most proximal, as well as the most enduring of children’s social environments” (Luthar and Goldstein, 2004: 503). There is substantial evidence that family poverty is linked to poorer social, emotional and behavioural outcomes for children, and there are multiple other disadvantages in relation to health and educational attainment (Treanor, 2012). However, CYP’s experiences of growing up in poverty are complex as children growing up in poverty will not necessarily have poor outcomes in adulthood (Lister, 2004).

Coherence, warmth and the absence of conflicts between children and parents/caregivers have been identified as enhancing children’s resilience especially when growing up in poor and disorganised environments (Rutter, 1999; Werner and Smith, 2001). Parenting is also a key influence on educational attainment, especially child-parent learning and parents’ aspirations and attitudes towards education (Sammons et al, 1997; McCulloch and Joshi, 2001; McDonald et al, 2011; Jeynes, 2005; 2007). Parents and children in disadvantaged families express conventional attitudes to work and welfare (Shildrick, et al, 2016). Parents have aspirations for their children which their children often share, but they may lack knowledge on how to achieve their ambitions (Kintrea et al, 2015). There is some evidence to suggest higher levels of aspiration amongst young refugees: this can be linked to the background and status of their parents, and who view higher education is a route out of poverty and discrimination, and are aspirational and motivated (Stevenson and Willott, 2007).

### ***Relocation, Changing Contexts and CYP’s Outcomes***

As shown in Figure 1, relocating CYP to different neighbourhoods could alter their residential contexts and thereby their interim outcomes. Improved physical environments (more green space, new buildings etc) could lead to reduced stress and positive parenting (better family relations, more positive parental attitudes) and better behaviours such as more physical activity and less antisocial behaviour. Greater community diversity (through moving to an area with a better social mix) could lead to better social networks including role models who encourage positive behaviours and exposure

to a broader social mix at school leading to higher aspirations. In turn health and education outcomes could be influenced such as general wellbeing, mental health, educational attainment and future aspirations (Egan, 2010). However, the evidence from relocation studies is limited.

A study of young people (aged 12 to 21 years) from Utrecht, the Netherlands, who had been forced to move because their homes were to be demolished, found that many preferred their new dwelling (Visser et al, 2013). It is also suggested that the impact of relocation on younger children's satisfaction with the new house and neighbourhood conditions might be more pronounced because at this stage their action space has not yet extended far beyond the neighbourhood context (Visser et al, 2013). In the US, evaluations of HOPE VI (a plan by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development to revitalize the worst public housing projects in the United States into mixed-income developments) show that most households forced to move ended up in better housing and in neighbourhoods that were less poor and much safer (see Popkin et al, 2004). Furthermore, the HOPE VI children attended better schools and had fewer concerns about school quality. However changing schools may also have created extra stress and academic challenges for these children (Popkin, 2004).

One of the main issues arising from relocation studies and CYP is the effect relocation has on friendships and peer relationships. Depending on the distance moved, children's peer groups and the quality of peer relationships may change. Moving to a new neighbourhood, town or school disrupts ties with former peer groups and establishing new peer groups often proves difficult. A study of 'vulnerable' 6 to 14 year old relocated HOPE VI residents found that while many had made new friends, they did not have close friends in their new neighbourhoods (Galagher and Bajaj, 2007). Another study of HOPE VI residents aged 12 to 18 found that, through the move, the CYP had to get used to new values and norms, organised activities were unknown and new friends were difficult to make (Clampet-Lunquist, 2007). In the Netherlands, CYP's evaluation of their new neighbourhood was less often positive. It is suggested that this might be because it is difficult for young people to get used to a new neighbourhood; they might miss their friends and find it difficult to build new friendships (Visser et al, 2013).

With regard to parenting, the overall finding of relocation studies in the USA is that the effects of neighbourhood change on parenting are not particularly significant, especially for younger children (Sanbonmatsu et al, 2006). However, parents who reported engaging in their child's education and those who had graduated from high school were more likely, post-move, to report that their child was highly engaged in school and less likely to report behaviour problems. Parents who suffered depression were more likely to report behaviour problems in their children. The findings about the protective value of parental characteristics suggest that interventions aimed at reducing stress and providing support to parents may also benefit children (Popkin et al, 2004).



### ***Critical Moments and Transitions***

The third stage of our conceptual development involves recognising that relocation will be just one event happening in the context of CYP's lives alongside other things which happen as part of growing up. Young people's outcomes will be shaped by the contexts in which youth transitions are made. Growing up in contexts of socioeconomic disadvantage impact on young people's wellbeing and transition to adulthood in complex ways: structural inequalities, not just personal behaviours, impact on health, wellbeing and other outcomes (Robb, 2007). For some, relocation might be life-changing, for others just part of what happens or be regarded as insignificant. Alongside relocation, CYP are undergoing transitions and some may also be experiencing "critical moments". It is this nexus of events and processes that we wish to understand.

Youth transitions are a specific phase in the life course between childhood and adulthood. Once described in relatively simplistic terms such as the move to school, transitions between schools, from school to college or work, and from the family home to living elsewhere, there is now a growing literature on the changing nature of youth transitions - termed *fractured* or *extended* transitions – with debates about individualisation and choice in youth transitions and, the importance of variables such as class, ethnicity and gender (Goodwin and O'Connor, 2005; Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). This has led to an increase of the risk of encountering outcomes that young people regard as undesirable (such as unemployment; accepting jobs for which they consider themselves overqualified; not being able to acquire own home). It has been suggested that when expectations conflict with experiences, mental health can suffer (Furlong, 2002). However, in our framework, we highlight the two key transitions of moving from primary to secondary school, and moving into adulthood, as shown in Figure 1.

Most young people encounter unexpected twists and turns as they make the transition from youth to adulthood. Critical moments, or turning points, are defined as events or circumstances that either the researcher or research participant sees as having important consequences for CYP's lives and identities. Thomson et al (2002) mapped critical moments along a fate/choice continuum, noting a diverse spectrum of critical moments, including: death of a parent, parents splitting up, dropping out of school, getting arrested, and a new boyfriend. It is at these critical moments that CYP embark upon a particular path; later they may take a different turn or take a different path. At each critical moment their agency, or lack of agency is revealed: key decisions were (or were not) made and actions were (or not) taken.

The different types of critical moment that affect CYP depends on their socio-geographical location. In the case of CYP living in deprived areas, critical moments are more likely to be things that happened to people and over which they had little control, and less likely to reflect the active choices and agency of CYP as might be the case in middle-class areas (MacDonald and Shildrick, 2012). Furthermore, there is a greater multitude of more significant critical moments in disadvantaged areas which have been described as a 'harsher landscape' (Henderson et al, 2007). The force of

critical moments comes from their combination with the multiple pressures on wellbeing of growing up in poor neighbourhoods. Families experiencing a multiplicity of problems – ‘relentless waves of problems’ (p827) - can feel destabilised and exhausted. There can be magnifying and compounding effects: problems that might have been coped with in isolation could be insurmountable when they arrive on the back of others. (Shildrick et al, 2016).

The way in which CYP respond to critical moments – and how critical moments influence outcomes - is strongly dependent on the range of resources they are able to access, including material, financial, cultural, social and emotional resources, which are not evenly distributed among young people and their social networks. Yet the nature of a young person’s response to a critical moment can profoundly alter the course of their transition to adulthood. Responses may include what Jones (2002) has referred to as ‘backtracking’, as well as the possibility of moving in a more positive direction. The purpose of identifying such events is to enable us to understand the inter-connectedness and parallel processes of change in the lives of CYP and the effect that relocation plays within this.

## **Research Aim**

The aim of this article is to understand how involuntary relocation - in the context of transformational regeneration - affects CYP’s interim outcomes, both directly and indirectly via its impacts on residential contexts and its intersections with CYP’s transitions and critical moments, as shown in the conceptual model in Figure 1.

Specifically, we address the following research questions:

- What role does relocation play in influencing CYP’s interim outcomes?
- How does relocation interact with other processes of transition in CYP’s lives?
- How are CYP’s critical moments supported or influenced by neighbourhood context and relocation?

## **Methods**

### *Study Context*

Lived Realities is a longitudinal qualitative study conducted within a larger study of the effects of regeneration upon health using a range of mixed methods (Egan et al, 2010). The study was originally designed to follow families as they were relocated through transformational regeneration.

The setting is three Transformational Regeneration Areas (TRAs) in Glasgow, forming part of a regeneration programme implemented by the main social landlord and the city council across fifteen

areas of the city since 2005. They are subject to a range of physical and social interventions, including large-scale demolition and redevelopment, new/improved amenities and services, and community programmes. All three study areas were inner city social housing estates, mainly high-rise flats, in the worst 15% of neighbourhoods nationally in terms of multiple deprivation. They were comprised of predominantly non-Scottish population groups, these being mostly Asylum Seekers and Refugees (ASR) together with a small number of other black and minority ethnic groups. TRAs comprised a financially dependent resident group, with less than a fifth of households living mainly on earnings or private income.

All families in the study were in the process of relocating mainly from high rise flats to different types of housing in other neighbourhoods. Under the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001, tenants required to move due to clearance and regeneration must be offered suitable alternative accommodation by their landlord defined in terms of location, size, character, affordability, safety and accessibility (GHA, 2003). The period of time taken to relocate residents and demolish buildings was lengthy and many households remained in their original neighbourhood while the regeneration process began. Households were relocated most often to nearby areas, though sometimes to more distant locations across the city (Kearns and Mason, 2013). As in other cases of relocation, moving could result in higher housing costs for tenants. A comparison of relocated tenants with those who remained living in regeneration areas in our study showed that more of the former (22%) than the latter (14%) reported difficulties paying their rent (GoWell 2011). In addition, some relocated tenants faced additional higher costs due to the need to repay rent arrears after leaving their previous home, and to redecorate their new homes (if moving into previously occupied properties) and buy new furniture (Kearns and Darling 2013b).

### *Sample*

There have been three waves of data collection between 2011 and 2014. Our aim was to recruit 'family households' so that we could see how change was being experienced for different ages and household members, and in the wider context of family life. 23 households were recruited to the study in wave one (2011). Of these 20 could be described as family households in that they comprised both adult/s and child/ren, including eight lone parent households (seven mothers, one father). The remaining three households either had children/dependants who were no longer living with them or were single people. Twelve households (ten family households) were re-interviewed approximately eighteen months later at wave two (2012). At wave three (2014) 13 of the original family households were interviewed.

At the start of the research in 2011 the majority of participants were in the process of moving from high rise flats and knew where they would be moving to. By wave three all families had been

relocated. The majority of families were moving to other neighbourhoods, usually short distances away. The furthest move was eight miles and the shortest less than a mile.

The 13 families at wave three contained 32 children/young people. Three of the families were former asylum seekers/refugees (ASR), originally from Africa, Syria and Lebanon. Six of the families had no parents in work; the remaining seven families had some form of paid work. We did not ask about receipt of welfare benefits although some participants volunteered this information.

The CYP can be broken down into the following age categories (post-relocation):

- Younger children (primary school and younger) n=8
- Teenagers (at or moving to secondary school) n=8
- School leavers (age 16-19) n=6
- Young adults (age 20-25) n=10

Details of the sample of 32 CYP are given in Table 1.

Insert Table 1

### *Interviews*

The main method employed was in-depth interviews with parents, loosely structured around themes including the participants' background, everyday life and routines, views on their home and neighbourhood, their wellbeing and aspirations. All questions were framed in a neutral way and there was no attempt to elicit either a positive or negative view of relocation.

At wave one each participant was interviewed on more than one occasion: this was considered essential in getting to know them and developing a rapport, and so that we could develop a good understanding of their everyday lives. At wave two a single in-depth interview was repeated and based largely on the same themes but also took into account what the participant had said at wave one and built on some of the issues raised then. As the majority of participants had been relocated by wave two, we also asked about the move. At the wave three interview we asked specific questions about CYP in the household: how they had settled into the new house/neighbourhood; coping and adjusting to change; school, relationships, friends, hobbies; aspirations and expectations for the future.

We did not have ethical approval to interview children alone as the original intention of the study was the lived realities of families. We recognise this as a limitation of the study and that parents' accounts of their children's lives may differ from children's own accounts. Interviews were carried out with an adult member of the family, primarily a female member although we interviewed one male single parent, and both parents in two families. As discussed, although we did not set out to

interview children, they were often present or joined in the conversation. There are parts of some interviews where children were talked to exclusively. Even if children did not speak (especially younger children) they were often present and we got a sense of who they were and their relationship with parents/family. Children were present or contributed to the interview in 11 of the 13 families.

Interviews were conducted at the homes of participants, recorded using digital audio equipment and transcribed by a specialist transcription company. The University of Glasgow's Ethics Committee approved the study. All adult participants gave informed consent to interview; where children were also present, this was with their parents' consent. Families received a supermarket voucher as an acknowledgment and thank you for their time and involvement. To protect the anonymity of participants, they are referred to throughout this article by pseudonyms.

### *Analysis*

Our approach to analysis was inductive and bottom-up, but also influenced by themes from the interview topic guide. Analysis covered data in the form of interview transcripts from the three waves so that we were able to develop a trajectory for each of the CYP. We focused on parents' perspectives of the CYP's relationship with their new house and neighbourhood; how they had coped with the move and adjusted to it; school relationships; friends; hobbies; aspirations and expectations for the future. Findings are presented in two ways. First we report on CYP's outcomes in the context of their family. Outcomes information varies depending on how much was revealed, and also by the age of the CYP. The focus of discussion for younger children was on how settled they were in their new environments whilst for older CYP the discussion focused on school qualifications, aspirations, plans and jobs. This variability is reflected in the summaries provided. Where there has been a significant event - critical moment - since relocation (as identified by the researcher), this is indicated. In the second stage, we use the residential contexts framework as a basis for the analysis, and within this identify key transitions and critical moments. Findings are presented as narratives for each context, before we synthesise the overall findings later in the Discussion.

## **Findings**

### ***CYP's Interim Outcomes***

Interim outcomes are discussed according to the Framework in Figure 1 using the 'contexts' as the basis for the discussion, and embedding transitions and critical moments within this. There is no separate 'peers' category as there was insufficient data for it to be a separate category (where mentioned, it is included within one of the other contexts). CYP's interim outcomes – described in

narrative form – are detailed in Table 2. As indicated in the table, seven of the thirteen families experienced ‘critical moments’ alongside relocation.

Insert Table 2

## ***Residential Contexts***

### *Home Context*

Previous living conditions in the high-rise flats were extremely poor for many. Relocation altered the home context with the vast majority of families reporting improved physical conditions and more space for their CYP, having moved into newly built dwellings. Having a comfortable and secure *home* is a key factor in family wellbeing, and the majority of participants reported feeling happier (Bratt, 2002). The main exception was Mark’s new flat which did that not offer more space and was above a chip shop, although it was in a slightly better condition than his previous home and in a better part of the area.

The key benefit for younger children was safety and security, particularly in private gardens. Lesley’s grandchildren (3, 7, 8) were much happier in the new house (and garden) – “*they love it ...they’ve got freedom*” (Lesley w3). Maya and her family moved to a house with its own garden in a cul-de-sac and said her children had “*more freedom*”. Private gardens and close-by parks are important in terms of freedom and security (Gill, 2007).

Space and better conditions were key to teenagers’ lives since relocation. Most teenagers reported being happier, more settled, and independent since relocation. Liam (14) lived with his dad, and had shared a bedroom with him since he was ten years old. Since the move Liam got his own bedroom with his own sofa and computer; his dad reported him being much happier and more settled. Adam’s mum said “*he’s loving it here*” (w3). In the old flat he lived in cramped conditions and shared a bedroom with his cousin (16) and older sister (22). He now had his own bedroom in a new house with lots more space. Even though Laura and her family moved to an older house, it was in better condition and her mum no longer had to sleep on the living room sofa because her bedroom was ruined from the damp. The exception is Mark (14) who experienced sub-optimal relocation during which time he developed a serious psychiatric condition, however this was not related to the home move and is considered elsewhere in the findings.

Many of the teenagers and young adults got their own space and privacy, important for their transition to adulthood (Reynolds, 2005): previously there were examples of teenage boys and girls (Ian 19 & Amy 17) sharing rooms and siblings with large age gaps (Chloe 14 & Karen 22).

Two of the older CYP identified specific benefits as a result of moving. Nicola (22) reported having poor mental health when living in the high-rise flats that she related to the poor living conditions. She did not have her own room (shared with her younger brother and nephew) so slept on a mattress in the living room. She reported being much happier, and psychologically healthier, in the new house where she had her own space and was free from a lot of the antisocial behaviour:

*“See when you sit here at night or during the day and it’s dead quiet and you can see people walking past and they’re walking up tae the flats and that and, you know, it’s a total different way o’ life. It’s insane, fae thinking the way we used tae live up the flats, tae the way we live now, it is completely different”* (Nicola w3)

Darren’s (23) girlfriend had moved into the new house and they were expecting a baby. This change of circumstance would have been difficult to accommodate if the family were still living in the flats. The new baby would be living in healthier conditions, and Darren’s mum was looking forward to having the baby live with them and helping out. Rachel (mum) said Darren’s plan was that *“he wants a hoose here as well. He wants a house [on this estate]”* (Rachel w3).

The older CYP from ASR families all still lived at home and welcomed better living conditions and more space as they had to endure poor quality conditions prior to the move, particularly larger families in cramped conditions. Layan’s older CYP (22, 25) now had their own rooms which they could use for studying. Nada’s three older children (20, 21, 23) did not socialise much outside of the home as it was part of their culture to spend family time together:

*“We stay together, we make dinner, we stay. Later we go watch TV. Sitting together. Watch TV like this. Yeah. Later everybody go to his room. They study”* (Nada w3)

However, As CYP transition to adulthood, many spend more time away from the family home, staying with friends and boy/girlfriends (e.g. Kelly, Amy, Karen, Emma) so the home takes on a less important function.

### *Neighbourhood Context*

New neighbourhoods were mostly close to origin neighbourhoods: the majority of families moved only a mile or less, the furthest move was eight miles, and the average move was approximately two miles (see Tables 1 and 2). Generally there were few challenges in becoming accustomed to new neighbourhoods; most CYP were already familiar with their new areas and many of their previous neighbours lived nearby. Typically new neighbourhoods were similar to origin neighbourhoods in terms of population profile and the types of amenities available. There is little evidence of CYP

developing new social networks although some reported being friendly with their neighbours and making new friends.

The immediate neighbourhood - in terms of safety, security, meeting other families and things to do socially – may be considered more important for families with young children. Most of those with young children reported there being few new opportunities available initially. Lesley had moved to a new build estate with no facilities and felt there was nothing locally for her grandchildren (3, 7, 8): *“there’s nothing here for them”* (Lesley w3). Trips away to the park or to groups involved an expensive bus journey and the ‘hassle’ of going out for the day. Similarly, Maya found her new neighbourhood much safer but also very quiet with little to offer her children (5, 13, 14) although, over time, they became more settled. Ula’s children (5, 9, 11) had more positive experiences of their new neighbourhoods, despite being reluctant to move initially. Ula’s children made new friends quickly in the new area. They felt more secure and could play in the park outside their new home so Ula could see them out of the window - *“They’re finding friends very easily. They can go outside, you know”* (w3). They had more opportunities for joining groups and doing different activities. There was a youth project in the area that the older children were involved with – *“[there’s] drawing and there are different activities and they’ve taken them away to the cinema and they have with a trip with them, it’s really great you know”*.

A few of the teenagers and older CYP socialised locally, and had made new friends, since moving. Chloe (14) went to the youth club in her new neighbourhood and played out with her friends: *“Chloe’s got loadsa pals... so there’s nae problem for her. Make pals anywhere she goes know what I mean”* (Jackie w2). Adam (14) was said to have made new friends even though he only moved a mile away, and Dama (14) had made friends with her neighbours. Ryan (16) had always been active in the community, particularly with the local football team and youth club. Since the move he reported being happier and had made new friends and connections in the area, particularly playing football for a new team. Conversely, Kelly (19) who previously did voluntary work at the youth club, had not been able to pursue her community commitments, due to having a full-time job and living further away.

Some of the CYP had interests and hobbies that were not neighbourhood-related and could be pursued when they relocated. Pearl (13) and Gabriel (14) were involved in many activities, some linked to their church. Pearl was in a netball team, sang in a choir and had piano lessons. Gabriel played the drums and was in a football team. Fakhir (14) did Taekwondo in a club after school and enjoyed swimming; there was a local pool and a leisure centre a drive away. His family had a car so they also went on trips outside the area into the countryside or seaside. Laura (16) was said to gain more confidence by joining the cadets and just through growing up. With his dad, Ryan (16) coached



football and was involved in summer school football camps for younger children. Many of the older CYP travelled into town to socialise, or mentioned going to the cinema or pubs.

Mobility can be an issue for CYP living in deprived neighbourhoods in that car ownership is lower and there is less resource for getting out and about. This did not emerge as a particular issue however. A minority of families reported having their own car and others seemed mobile in terms of their access to public transport.

The only family to raise finance as a concern in relation to their children's activities was Jackie (other families talked about financial problems but not in relation to their children). Chloe's (14) main interest was gymnastics from being very young; she trained several times a week outside her local area and travelled regularly to national and international competitions. Her mum supported her daughter's interest, but talked about the cost of financing it and had applied for money to help with this:

*"Her basic fees are like fifty pound a month 'cause that's no' counting like her travel, her leotards, her shorts, her tracksuits, her t-shirts ... once a year you need tae pay like your membership to Scottish Gymnastics.....there's your membership fees and your insurance and just her training fees and your competition entry and things like that....I've been writing to loads of people trying to get her funding"* (Jackie, w3)

Transitions to jobs and adulthood meant the neighbourhood had less relevance for many. Andrew's (18) main interest was football and there were some new opportunities to play through his job:

*"He started work they've asked him a coupla times as well tae play fitba' wi' them. So fitba's his main thing, he loves tae play fitba"* (Jackie w3)

Ian (19) enjoyed gaming and he spent a lot of time in the house on his computer, not really having any connection with the local area. His dad helped him to get a weekend job in a computer shop in town and said he had become more outgoing, spending less time in his virtual world:

*"He likes it. He's getting out, as well. He's meeting people. He never used to go out at all. He used to sit in on a computer and that was it"* (Paul w3)

Emma (19) left home to live in a different part of the city with her girlfriend. Amy (17) was said to be sociable and spent a lot of time at her boyfriend's house in a different area so had little connection with her immediate neighbourhood:

*“She’s quite a wee popular person – no’ so much round here. It’s mostly round about where her boyfriend is and that lives in the surrounding area”* (Heather w3).

The ASR families spent more time in their homes as a family, but there was little sense that the older children had much connection with their neighbourhoods. Some of the older CYP had arrived in the country as teenagers, or after their parents had arrived, and had not grown up in the areas, so they did not make the same social connections as their younger siblings. Whereas their mothers in particular had a strong sense of community locally (through community groups and the church), the older CYP appeared to have a stronger sense of connection with their home and family.

### ***School Context***

Schools in poorer areas have additional pressures and often a poor reputation (Lupton, 2005; Archer et al, 2007, Hollingworth and Archer, 2010). Theoretically moving CYP to different areas can improve their chances of attending a better school (with fewer problems), getting on and improving their outcomes. However, only two CYP changed schools as a result of relocation. The majority remained at their same school. On the one hand this meant that they did not lose their friends and contacts; on the other there was no opportunity to make new or different contacts, including bridging social capital (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). On the whole positive accounts were given of schools, with good levels of support for some and some examples of getting on better since moving.

Both of those CYP who moved school eventually settled and had a lot of support from their families, although Fakhir’s mum (Layan) died shortly after moving. Fakhir (14) moved the furthest distance of eight miles from his original home and he was initially sad at the prospect of changing school. However, his family made great efforts to support his move. He quickly made friends and became settled and was said to be doing very well – *“I think within the first few days I made quite a lot of friends”* (Fakhir w3). Pearl (13) was in her final year of primary school when her family relocated. She moved to a new school close to the new home but found it difficult to settle and got *“called names”* so she moved back to her original school where she was much happier: *“She had good friends there and she knows the teachers very well”* (Maya w2). After this brief period of being unsettled, Pearl was back on course and the transition to secondary school was reported as smooth.

Several CYP did not change school even though their commute was longer. Chloe (14) was in her final year of primary school at the time of the move and decided to stay at her old school for the final year, either walking or getting a lift from her sister in the car. Dama (14) was said to be happy with the move and new neighbourhood, but she wanted to remain at her previous secondary school,

about an hour's commute away: "*I have good friends. Teachers – I love my teachers' she said*" (Nada w3).

For some CYP, relocation meant they were even closer to their school and peer networks. Ryan's (16) secondary school was in the new area so he was looking forward to moving as he would be closer to his friends and school. Similarly, relocation meant Laura (16) was closer to her school which was only a walk away. Laura required additional learning support and was said to get a lot of support from her secondary school: "*the school provides for everything. It's good up there*" (Carol w2). She was following a vocational path that the school provided for through links with a local college: "*And extra time for the exams...they've done brilliant for her, and then that's when she went and done hospitality, once a week*" (w3). Gabriel (14) was closer to school and able to walk there instead of take the bus – "[he said] *I can walk to school*" (Maya w3).

Mostly, positive accounts were given of CYP's experiences of schools. Eva (5) liked her local primary school and her mum said "*she's very happy*" (Maya w3). Alison said Adam (14) was doing 'fantastic' at school. Before moving Liam (14) did not like going to school and said he was "picked on". Since moving, Liam had started to do well at school with an improved attendance record and he won a trophy for the school garden: "*The school said he's improved a hundred percent, he's always helping out with the school...he won a trophy for the school garden*" (Harry w3).

Two of the CYP reported negative school experiences (in the context of critical moments, see Table 4) which was a consequence of various factors. Mark (14) was said to be failing and not enjoying going to school after his illness. Emma (19) was said to be on course to study at university but then left school early with no qualifications.

### *Family Context*

The *family* has been discussed as the "single most influential of external influences, being the earliest, the most proximal, as well as the most enduring of children's social environments" (Luthar and Goldstein, 2004: 503). The overall finding of relocation studies from the US is that the effects of neighbourhood change on parenting are not particularly significant, especially for younger children (Sanbonmatsu et al, 2006). Two key themes emerged from the findings that are discussed here: parental aspirations for their children, and parental 'stresses' and critical moments.

### Parental Aspirations

Most parents reported wanting their children to get on in life and do well, often with reference to having a better life than what they had. Harry wants his son Liam to do well: *“I want him to go to college and dae something with his life. I want him tae dae a better job than I done... I wasted my life doing security”* (Harry w2). Lesley wants her grandchildren to have a better life than their mother had who was a ‘drug addict’: *“I hope they come out good, and they can make something of their life. I widnae want them to go doon the road that she [their mother] has* (Lesley w3). Kelly’s parents felt that *“at least she’s working, she’s not signing on sitting around doing nowt, you get what I mean.....sometimes you’ve gotta give them credit just for getting a job, in’t you, nowadays”* (Rachel w3).

The literature on youth transitions states the importance of social class, parents’ background and education, and ethnicity on outcomes related to jobs and education (Johnston et al, 2000). Most parents’ hopes and career prospects for their CYP can be considered conventional, a finding that echoes research by Shildrick et al (2013). Laura’s (16) mum was impressed with the help she got from her school and hoped she would eventually get a job in hospitality. A number of the teenagers (Adam, Ryan, Andrew) planned to become sports coaches (which has been a focus in some UK schools). Ryan (16) had a local college place to train to be a sports coach and his parents were proud of his achievements. Jackie supported Chloe (14) in her ambition to become a gymnastics coach. Andrew (19) wanted to be a sports coach and got a place on a college course but his mum was concerned as to whether she would still receive welfare benefits for him and herself if he went to college. He eventually left the course with half a qualification - *“He says he was failing”* (Susan w3) - and got a job in security. Jackie’s attitude towards her son’s future shows how she is taking into account her own needs too, which is probably a consideration for other families living in hardship.

Prior to relocation one family had moved their daughter Amy to a different school with better facilities as she was good at athletics. She had, however, decided not to pursue her plan of becoming a PE teacher, and Amy’s dad did not seem to mind and thought she would stay living locally and develop her own beauty business:

*“Within five years, she’ll have her own shop... And even if she gets a job and she’s doing beautician, she can do homers and that round people’s houses and make that business herself, d’you know what I mean, be more independent”* (Paul w3)

Ian’s main interest was computers and gaming, and he had planned to stay on at school into sixth form and become *“a games designer or historian of some sort, because I’m good at history, as well”* (Ian w1). However he left school at 16 and his parents were happy he was doing a computing course at the local college and had a weekend job in a computer shop.

Emma was on course to study microbiology at university but quit school with no qualifications and was unemployed. Her mum was sad and disappointed at what had happened but hoped that in the future *“Emma will get a place in college, and actually study something”* (Carol w3).

There was little sense of under-achievement from most parents who appeared happy that their children were doing something with their lives and had a job; doing what was ‘normal’ and conventional in line with their peers (MacDonald and Shildrick, 2012). There was also little evidence that parents’ aspirations for the CYP had been changed at all by relocation, for example through developing more aspirational goals for their CYP as part of the ‘new start’ in their new homes.

The ASR families typically had different aspirations in line with some of the literature in this area (Stevenson & Willott, 2007). Maya said her children were doing well at school with aspirations to get on and do professional jobs like accountancy and medicine. Fakhir enjoyed going to school and was said to be doing very well. He was interested in IT and computing, but said he would like to study architecture at university. Ula’s children had aspirations to do professional jobs: her elder daughter said she wanted to *“be a architect or an engineer or a designer”* and her younger daughter *“says she want to be a pharmacist”*. Dama was said to be doing well at school and hoped to go to university to do something in computing. These same patterns are reflected in the careers of the ASR young adults.

#### Parental ‘stresses’ and critical moments

There are several examples where parents experienced stresses in their lives prior to relocation which were not alleviated, or worsened after relocation. We cannot attribute parental stresses to CYP outcomes but we have reported previously that children’s outcomes seem important for adult outcomes (Lawson and Kearns, 2014), and the reverse is perhaps also true. Many families in the study reported on financial problems, difficulties finding work, and health problems and concerns. The following examples show the multiplicity of stresses that some families faced, and their compounding effects (Shildrick et al, 2016), although we do not know their long-term effects on CYP.

Lesley’s personal circumstances made her worry about her grandchildren’s upbringing. She had had a difficult life with her own daughter losing custody of her children. With her poor mental health and financial difficulties, she found it demanding being a single grandparent in her 50s with full-time care of three young children: *“I just feel that it’s getting – they’re getting older, and it’s getting harder. It was awright when they were weans”* (Lesley w3). Relocation brought more stress in the sense that she was removed from her social networks and located further away from her children’s nursery/school, and had difficulty adapting to living in a house with concerns about safety.

Lesley said she found it difficult thinking about her grandchildren's future as she would not be around for that much longer:

*"Well I'm 55 this year....I'll never see them grown up"* (Lesley w3)

Another example of parental stress is that of Mark's mum, Aisha, who has diabetes and depression and says she struggles to cope, and thought Mark might want to live with his dad and extended family who lived in a different part of the city. She had money problems, desperately wants a job but could not get one, and family pressures due to her traditional Pakistani family not accepting the way she lived her life. Added to this, Mark developed a serious psychiatric illness since moving which added to her stresses and coping ability. Although relocation did not change her life, it may be the case that a different relocation (e.g. to a new build house, or closer to support networks) may have been better for her and Mark.

Sue suffered severe mental health problems and agoraphobia. Although she did not have much of a relationship with her adult sons who lived with her, she had hoped to see more of her grandchildren when she moved due to improved conditions, although she had no allusions that the move would change her own problems. Since the move her mental health condition deteriorated, she had attempted suicide, ending up in hospital. Her relationship with her sons was said to be poor and she had seen less of her grandchildren.

The parenting situation changed for two children due to family bereavements. A year after moving, Fakhir's mother, Layan, died unexpectedly. Fakhir's father became the primary carer and his two older brothers were still living at home. They had fewer visits from family members and their routine changed, particularly at weekends. However, the family got a lot of support from their extended family, friends and school. Nada's 21 year old daughter became ill with cancer and died after relocation. Although there is no evidence that this affected anyone's outcomes, Nada talked about the difficulties and stress she experienced throughout this period and the effect it had on her as a parent, feeling she neglected her other four children.

There is one case where relocation had a negative impact on a parent, although she reported that the negative effects were not passed on to her children. Ula had come from a professional background in her origin country and had not been able to work – apart from voluntary work - since arriving in the UK due to caring responsibilities. She felt bored and unhappy with her current situation *"I'm just surviving, here"* and was sad to leave behind her community. Ula was racially attacked close to her new neighbourhood shortly after moving and was still dealing with the aftermath of this incident and its effects on the family. She had a lot of sadness (*"it's really affecting me, mentally, you know"*), but knowing her children were happy and settled with their lives made her feel better: *"If my kids, definitely, our kids happy then we are happy"* (Ula w3).

## Discussion

Using a residential contexts framework, we set out to understand how involuntary relocation affects CYP's interim outcomes. We used the term 'interim outcomes' as the study is based on a three-year time period, and we cannot be certain of the outcomes of childhood until CYP reach settled adulthood. Interim outcomes can be viewed as the stepping stones to CYP outcomes which are described as the foundations for adulthood (e.g. health and wellbeing; aspirations and purpose). In using the term interim *outcomes* we mean to encompass experiences and processes as well as outcomes themselves. Thus there is a somewhat blurry relationship between the means to an outcome and the outcome itself, as we go on to discuss.

We are interested in whether altering contexts makes a difference to CYP's outcomes, and whether interim outcomes would be different if relocation had not happened and families had remained in their old homes and neighbourhoods. Table 3 summarises our findings on the significant factors in CYP's outcomes. From this we can see, firstly, that there were as many non-relocation-related factors that affected CYP's outcomes as there were relocation factors.

The relocation-related factors that create mainly positive outcomes, or have some effect on CYP's outcomes, related to the two contexts of housing and neighbourhoods, although the balance varied. Acquiring own space or having opportunities for activities in the area can be considered interim outcomes in their own right, but they can also be the means towards more concrete outcomes such as educational attainment or supportive social networks further down the line. For younger children, neighbourhood elements after relocation mattered more. Conversely, for school leavers, housing factors featured more prominently. In the case of teenagers and young adults, both housing and neighbourhood elements mattered for outcomes after relocation, moreover the prominence of housing space as a factor for these groups echoes other recent findings that overcrowding (persons per room) was the main housing characteristic to affect teenagers' educational outcomes (Bourassa et al 2016). Table 3 also shows that critical moments affected different age groups, but only one of these critical moments was relocation-related, namely the racial victimisation of a parent in the new neighbourhood. For all age groups there were a mixture of positive and negative factors in operation, and only for young adults were relocation-related factors entirely positive.

Insert Table 3

Overall context is important here, as a different process of involuntary relocation, or in a different region, might have produced different findings. The context for our study was involuntary relocation due to transformational regeneration in Glasgow. Our findings were arrived at inductively

and are largely positive with regard to experiences of relocation. They challenge the dominant discourse in this field of research. Although a minority of families were initially reluctant to move, the threat of areas being taken over by the middle-classes or gentrified has not been an issue in Glasgow to the extent it has elsewhere, and the majority of families did not indicate a desire to move back to their previous, but newly transformed areas. On the one hand this level of security and stability, with nearby moves to similar neighbourhoods, may be a protective factor, but if the aim is to improve CYP's outcomes then it might prove ineffective in the medium- to long-term. Most CYP had endured very poor housing and neighbourhood conditions, so the majority of them welcomed the move. Due to the nature of the regeneration, most families were offered - and most had moved in to - new build housing in neighbourhoods close by. Many were already familiar with the new areas. Their social networks changed little because most families moved along with their neighbours so there was the security for most of not having to start afresh, and the majority of children did not change schools as they were close enough to travel to the school they came from. Although some had indicated financial problems in general, this circumstance did not change due to a home context change as rents stayed the same and the cost of living did not change apart from how it would have in any case.

A challenge of our work has been bringing together the different disciplines of Urban Studies and Youth Studies as a framework for understanding relocation, and demonstrating empirically how this manifests. A key contribution of this paper therefore is in demonstrating how relocation interacts with critical moments and transitions which happen at the same time: it was this nexus of events and processes that we aimed to understand. Relocation is only one of many things happening in the lives of CYP which they have to deal with. At the same as relocation CYP are negotiating aspects of growing up including developing relationships, school transitions, and making decisions about the future. For some, these are relatively straightforward, for others more complicated. A number of "critical moments" were identified throughout the three-year period which potentially had a bearing on CYP's outcomes and experiences. For example, one child's psychiatric illness had a profound effect on his life in that he was off school, lost friends, failed his exams and his mother questioned her ability to cope – in the context of sub-optimal relocation and family difficulties. Another child's mother died unexpectedly during the study period although he was coping well living in much improved conditions with the support of his dad and older brothers and was settled at school. One of the female school-leavers came out as gay, left home and quit school with no qualifications. In studying these interactions with transitions and critical moments, regeneration (a transition) and relocation (a critical moment) can be better understood so that not all outcomes from these processes and events are predicted or confirmed as positive or negative, and not all outcomes for CYP are wholly or solely attributed to relocation.

As summarised in Table 4, relocation can potentially influence the effects of critical moments, more often positively than negatively, by impacting on the range of resources available to the CYP and family. In a positive vein, relocation helped some families cope with critical moments



through bringing households closer to their wider families for support; by locating them in areas with more social and leisure opportunities, thus diverting CYP from the negative effects of family events; and by giving parents peace of mind when their CYP seemed happier in their new locations. In a negative vein, relocation could also exacerbate the onset or effects of critical moments through the loss of a supportive and cohesive community (particularly for ASR families); and where the chosen or allocated property is not well suited to the family's needs. It was, however also the case that sometimes critical moments merely happened *alongside* relocation, with the latter having little effect upon their onset or impacts.

#### Insert Table 4

A further important finding is concerned with the effect that relocation has on parents, and how this in turn can be important to CYP's outcomes. Whilst the focus of this work has been on CYP, many parents have had difficult issues themselves to deal with including bereavement, financial problems and stresses, poor health and other pressures, often having a compounding effect. In this sense a focus on positive outcomes for CYP following relocation should also consider parents and the wider family. If relocation can support parental wellbeing (especially in difficult circumstances) this may in turn be of benefit to CYP. Furthermore, although based on a very small sample, relocation may be harder for some ASR families who have developed strong networks and friendships in their receiving communities only to be removed from them and having to start afresh in neighbourhoods not used to such diversity. The areas they move to may not be as welcoming and could be more hostile as found to be the case for one family in our study. This may also be a product of the particular context of our study, Glasgow being a city that has only recently experienced growing ethnic diversity.

A limitation of the study is that the findings are based largely on parental accounts, although the study was not initially designed as a study about CYP. Different issues or stories may have arisen if we had collected data solely from the CYP themselves. A further methodological issue is the definition and use of the term critical moment. As researchers, we determined from the data what critical moments to use for illustrative purposes. Other critical moments may have emerged given a different approach.

## Conclusion

Our study demonstrates the value of recognising that the impacts of involuntary relocation upon interim outcomes for CYP cannot be studied in isolation from other events and ongoing processes in their lives, and that interactions between relocation and youth transitions and critical moments require

examination. Moreover, the potential impacts of relocation upon families and CYP depend upon the parameters and wider geographical context of the regeneration process itself, and are not necessarily the same everywhere, even within the UK.

Relocation is one of a number of transitions that CYP go through and its interactions with those other transitions must be considered. Adopting a contexts framework which adds the neighbourhood to the more traditional contexts identified in educational and youth studies, we are able to see that relocation can impact upon these other contexts – home, neighbourhood, peers, school and family – both directly and indirectly. Moreover, given the fact of studying CYP from deprived neighbourhoods, a few things demonstrate the need to be cautious about prior assumptions and expectations of relocation: whilst direct impacts upon the home were generally positive, impacts upon the neighbourhood were more mixed; meanwhile, indirect impacts upon the other contexts of peers, schools and family were as often positive as negative. Applying our theoretical framework has shown how through studying interactions with transitions and critical moments for CYP, regeneration (itself a transition) and relocation (itself a critical moment) can be better understood so that not all outcomes are predicted or merely confirmed as positive or negative, and not all outcomes are wholly or solely attributed to relocation.

Most importantly, however, we must acknowledge that stressful life events were more numerous and significant as ‘critical moments’ in CYP’s lives than relocation (Thomson et al, 2002). Whilst the secondary impacts of relocation in relation to these other critical moments was more often positive than negative, it was also often the case that critical moments and their impacts occurred irrespective of relocation. Whilst relocation can seem the ‘big thing’ from the point of view of regeneration practitioners and researchers, from the perspective of CYP, it can seem a small part of the much bigger picture of change in their lives.

## References

- Ager, A and Strang, S. (2008) Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21, 2, 166-190.
- Anderson, S., Leventhal, T., Newman, S and Dupere, V. (2014) Residential Mobility Among Children: A Framework for Child and Family Policy, *Cityscape*, 16, 1, 5-36.
- Archer, L., Hutchings, M and Ross, A. (2003) Higher Education and Social Class: Issues of Exclusion and Inclusion. London: FalmerRoutledge.
- Archer, L., Hollingworth, S. and Halsall, A. (2007) 'University's not for me- I'm a Nike person': Urban, working class young people's negotiations of 'style', identity and educational engagement, *Sociology*, 41, 2, 219-237.
- Archer, L and Francis, B. (2005) *Understanding Minority Ethnic Achievement*. London: Routledge.

- Bolt, G., van Kempen, R., and van Weesep, J. (2009) After urban restructuring: Relocations and segregation in Dutch cities. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 100, 4, 502-518.
- Bourassa, S.C., Haurin, D.R. and Hoesli, M. (2016) 'What affects children's outcomes: house characteristics or homeownership?', *Housing Studies*, 31, 4, 427-444.
- Bratt, R. (2002) Housing and Family Well-Being, *Housing Studies*, 17,1, 13-26.
- Bridge, G., Butler, T., and Lees, L (eds). (2011) *Mixed Communities: gentrification by stealth?*, Policy Press: Bristol.
- Brooks-Gunn, J., Duncan, G and Aber, J. (1997) *Neighbourhood poverty: context and consequences for children*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Clampet-Lundquist, S. (2007) No More 'Bois Ball. The effect of relocation from public housing on adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 22, 3, 298-323.
- Dodds, S. (2011) Government Urban Regeneration Practice: Review of UK Evidence, Scottish Government: Communities Analytical Services
- Egan M, Kearns A, Mason P, et al. (2010) Protocol for a mixed methods study investigating the impact of investment in housing, regeneration and neighbourhood renewal on the health and wellbeing of residents: the GoWell programme, *BMC Med Res Methodology*, 10, 41.
- Furlong, A. and Cartmel, F. (2007) *Young People and Social Change: New Perspectives*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Furlong, A. (2002) Youth transitions and health: a literature review Edinburgh. Health Education Board for Scotland.
- Gallagher, M and Bajaj, B. (2007) Moving On: Benefits and Challenges of HOPE VI for Children, Urban Institute 4.
- Glasgow Housing Association. (2005) Regeneration projects: Processes and guidance notes. Glasgow: GHA.
- Goetz, E. (2002) Forced Relocation vs. Voluntary Mobility: The Effects of Dispersal Programmes on Households, *Housing Studies*, 17, 1, 107-123.
- Goodwin, J and O'Connor, H. (2005) Exploring complex transitions: looking back at the 'golden age' of from school to work. *Sociology*, 39, 2, 201-220.
- Gordon-Larsen, P., Nelson, MC., Page, P. and Popkin, BM. (2006) Inequality in the Built Environment Underlies Key Health Disparities in Physical Activity and Obesity. *Pediatrics*, 111, 2, 417-424.
- GoWell (2007) The Regeneration Challenge in Transformation Areas: Evidence from the GoWell Baseline Survey, Glasgow: GCPH.
- GoWell (2011) Moving Out, Moving On? Short to Medium Term Outcomes from Relocation through Regeneration in Glasgow (Glasgow: GCPH).
- The Guardian (2016a) The fall and rise of the council estate.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jul/13/aylesbury-estate-south-london-social-housing>

- The Guardian (2016b) The displaced tenants paying the true cost of an inhumane housing policy. <https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2016/dec/02/human-cost-benefits-cap-tenants-shunted-england-councils>
- The Guardian (2017a) Regeneration means demolishing people's homes, not making them better. <https://www.theguardian.com/housing-network/2017/jun/07/regeneration-demolishing-homes-council-estates>
- The Guardian (2017b) The real cost of regeneration. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2017/jul/21/the-real-cost-of-regeneration-social-housing-private-developers-pfi>
- Helsen, M., Vollebergh, W. & Meeus, W. (2000) Social support from parents and friends and emotional problems in adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 29, 319-335.
- Henderson, S., Holland, J., McGrellis, S., Sharpe, S et al. (2007) *Inventing Adulthood*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Hodkinson, S. (2011) The Private Finance Initiative in English Council Housing Regeneration: A Privatisation too Far?, *Housing Studies*, 26, 6, 911-932
- Holland, J., Reynolds, T. & Weller, S. (2007) Transitions, networks and communities: The significance of social capital in the lives of children and young people. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 10, 97-116.
- Hollingworth, S. & Archer, L. (2010) Urban schools as urban places: school reputation, children's identities and engagement with education, *Urban Studies*, 47, 3, 584-603.
- Holloway, SL, Hubbard, P, Jöns, H & Pimlott-Wilson, H. (2010) Geographies of education and the significance of children, youth and families. *Progress in Human Geography*, 34, 5, 583-600.
- Hume, C, Salmon, J., Ball, K. (2005) Children's perceptions of their home and neighbourhood environments, and their association with objectively measured physical activity: a qualitative and quantitative study. *Health Education Research*, 20, 1, 1-13.
- Jeynes, WH. (2005) A meta-analysis of the relation of parental involvement to urban elementary school student academic achievement. *Urban Education*, 40, 237-269.
- Jeynes, WH. (2007) The relationship between parental involvement and urban secondary school student academic achievement: a meta analysis. *Urban Education*, 42, 1, 82-110.
- Johnston, L., MacDonald, R., Mason, P., Ridley, L and Webster, C. (2000) *Snakes and Ladders: Young People, Transitions and Social Exclusion*. Bristol: Polity Press.
- Jones, G. (2002) *The Youth Divide*. York: York Publishing Services/JRF.
- Justspace (2014) *Staying Put: An Anti-Gentrification Handbook for Council Estates in London*. Justspace.org.uk
- Kearns, A. & Darling, L. (2013) *Getting a Move On?: Tenant Experiences of the Rehousing Process in Transformational Regeneration Areas*. Glasgow: GoWell
- Kintrea, K., St Clair, R., and Houston, M. (2015) Shaped by place? Young people's aspirations in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 18, 5, 666-684.
- Kleinhans, R. (2003). Displaced but still moving upwards in the housing career? Implications of forced residential relocation in the Netherlands. *Housing Studies*, 18, 473-499.

- Lawson, L., and Kearns, A. (2016) 'Power to the (young) people'? Children and young people's empowerment in the relocation process associated with urban re-structuring. *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 16, 3, 76-403.
- Lefebvre, H. (2002) *Critique of everyday life*, London, Verso.
- Lees, L. and Ley, D. (2008) Introduction to special issue on gentrification and public policy. *Urban Studies*, 45, 12, 2379–2384.
- Lees, L. (2014) The Urban Injustices of New Labour's "New Urban Renewal": The Case of the Aylesbury Estate in London. *Antipode*, 46, 4, 921-947.
- Lees, L. (2016) Cameron's 'sink estate' strategy comes at a human cost. *The Conversation*.
- Leventhal, T and Brooks-Gunn, J. (2000) The neighbourhoods they live in: the effects of neighbourhood residence on child and adolescent outcomes. *Psychological Bulletin*, 126, 309-337.
- Lister, R. (2004) *Poverty*. London: Polity.
- Lupton, R and Power, A (2005) *Disadvantaged by where you live? New Labour and neighbourhood renewal*. In *A More Equal Society?*, 119-144. Bristol: The Policy Press
- Luthar, S. S. and Goldstein, A. (2004) Children's exposure to community violence: Implications for understanding risk and resilience. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, 33, 499-505.
- MacDonald, R and Shildrick, T. (2012) Youth and wellbeing: experiencing bereavement and ill health in marginalised young people's transitions. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 35, 1, 147-161
- McDonald, P., Pini, B., Bailey, J., and Price, R (2011) Young people's aspirations for education, work, family and leisure. *Work, Employment and Society*, 25, 1, 68-84.
- McCulloch, A and Joshi, HE. (2001) Neighbourhood and family influences on the cognitive ability of children in the British National Child Development Study. *Social Science and Medicine*, 53, 5, 579-91.
- McPherson, K., Kerr, S., McGee, E., Cheater, F. & Morgan, A. (2013) The role and impact of social capital on the health and wellbeing of children and adolescents: a systematic review. Glasgow: GCPH.
- Mee, K. (2010) Any place to raise children is a good place: children, housing and neighbourhoods in inner Newcastle, Australia, *Children's Geographies*, 8, 2, 193-211.
- Michael, M. & Gaver, W. 2009. Home Beyond Home Dwelling With Threshold Devices. *Space and Culture*, 12, 359-370.
- Mooney, A., Oliver, C., & Smith, M. (2009). Impact of family breakdown on children's wellbeing: Evidence review (Research report). London: Department for Children, Schools and Families.
- Mota, J., Almeida, M., Santos, P., Ribeiro, J. (2002) Perceived neighbourhood environments and physical activity in adolescents. *Preventative Medicine*, 41: 834-836.
- Popkin, S., Eiseman, M and Cove, E. (2004) How are HOPE VI Families Faring? Urban Institute, Brief no6.
- Power, A (2016) Council estates: why demolition is anything but the solution. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/sink-estates-demolition/>
- Reynolds, L. (2005) *Full House? How overcrowding housing affects families*. Shelter: London.

- Robb, M (2007) Wellbeing. In Kehily, MJ (ed) Understanding Youth. Milton Keynes: Open University Press
- Royal Town Planning Institute (2014). What is the aim of urban regeneration? RTPI
- Rutter, M. (1999) Resilience concepts and findings: implications for family therapy', *Journal of Family Therapy*, 21, 119–60.
- Sammons, P., West, A and Hind, A. (1997) Accounting for variations in pupil attainment at the end of Key Stage 1. *British Educational Research Journal*, 23, 4, 489-511
- Sampson, RJ., Morenoff, JD, Gannon-Rowley, T. (2002) Assessing neighbourhood effects: social processes and new directions in research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28, 443-478.
- Sanbonmatsu, L., Ludwig, J., Katz, L., Gennetian, L., Duncan, G., Kessler, R., Adam, E., McDade, T and Tessler Lindau, S. (2011) *Moving to Opportunity for Fair Housing Demonstration Program: Final Impacts Evaluation*. Report prepared by the National Bureau of Economic Research for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.
- Schaefer-McDaniel, N. J. (2004) Conceptualizing social capital among young people: Toward a new theory. *Children, Youth and Environments*, 14, 140-150.
- Shildrick, T., MacDonald, R and Furlong, A. (2016). Not single spies but in battalions: a critical, sociological engagement with the idea of so-called 'Troubled Families'. *The Sociological Review*, 64, 821-836
- Spicer, N. (2008). Places of Exclusion and Inclusion: Asylum-Seeker and Refugee Experiences of Neighbourhoods in the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34, 3, 491-510
- Stevenson, J and Willott, J (2007). The aspiration and access to higher education of teenage refugees in the UK, *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 37:5, 671-687
- Thomson, H., Petticrew, M and Morrison, D. (2002) Housing improvement and health gain: a summary and systematic review. MRC Social and Public Health Sciences Unit.
- Thomson, RM, Bell, R., Holland, J et al. (2002) Critical Moments: Choice, Chance and Opportunity in Young People's Narratives of Transition, *Sociology*, 36, 2, 335-54.
- Treanor, M (2012). Impacts of poverty on children and young people. Stirling: Scottish child care and protection network
- Visser, K., Bolt, G and van Kempen, R. (2013) Urban Restructuring and Forced Relocation: Housing Opportunities for Youth? A Case Study in Utrecht, the Netherlands. *Housing Studies*, 28, 2, 294-316.
- Waters, S., Lester, L. & Cross, D. (2014) How does support from peers compare with support from adults as students transition to secondary school? *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 54, 543-549.
- Werner, E and Smith, RS. (2001) *Journeys from Childhood to Midlife: Risk, Resilience, and Recovery* by Emmy E. Werner and Ruth S. Smith. New York, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Wilson, W. (2013) Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders. House of Commons Library. <http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN05953/SN05953.pdf>
- Woolcock, M and Deepa, N. (2000) Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy, *World Bank Research Observer*, 15, 2, 225-250.



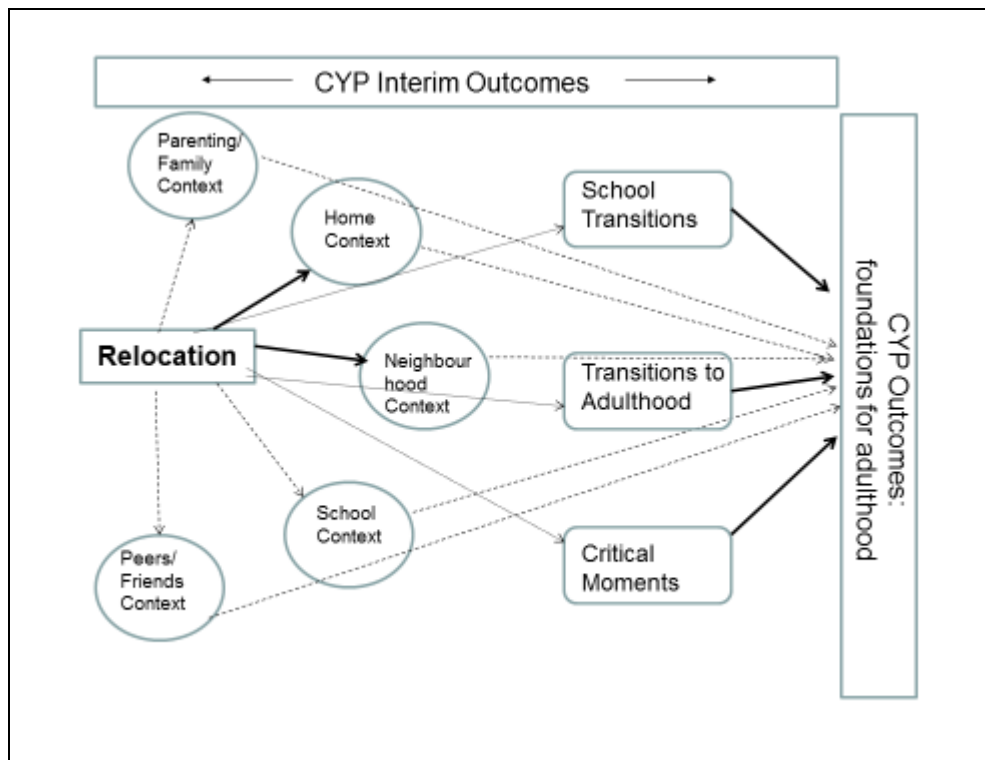


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework for CYP Interim Outcomes: The Intersections of Relocation with Residential Contexts, Youth Transitions and Critical Moments



Table 1: Longitudinal Sample Details

Participant/parent	No. Children & ages (at W3)	Ethnicity	Employment status	House type -	Distance moved (miles)
Lesley (lone grandparent)	3 (Bryce 3; Paige 7; Kyle 8)	Scottish	Not working	Newly built house	2
Ula (2-parent family)	3 (Zac 5; Pasha 9; Carmel 11)	African (ASR)	1 parent working	Newly built house	1
Maya (2-parent family)	3 (Eva 5; Pearl 13; Gabriel 14)	ASR	2 parents working	Newly built house	2
Layan (2-parent family)	3 (Fakhir 11; Karim 22; Omar 25)	Syrian (ASR)	1 parent working	Newly built house	8
Jackie (lone parent)	3 (Chloe 14; Andrew 18; Karen 22)	Scottish	1 parent working (p/t)	Newly built house	1
Carol (lone parent)	2 (Laura 16; Emma 18)	Scottish	1 parent working (p/t)	Older flat	1
Harry (lone parent)	1 (Liam 14)	Scottish	Not working	Newly built flat	3
Alison (lone parent)	2 (Adam 14; Nicola 22)	Scottish	Not working	Newly built house	1
Nada (2-parent family)	4 (Dama 14; Tala 20; Ahmed (21); Housam 23)	Lebanese (ASR)	Not working	Newly built house	5
Aisha (lone parent)	1 (Mark 14)	Scottish Pakistani	Not working	Tenement flat	1
Rachel (2-parent family)	3 (Ryan 16, Kelly 19; Darren 23)	Scottish	Not working	Newly built flat	1
Heather (2-parent family)	2 (Amy 17; Ian 19)	Scottish	2 parents working	Newly built house	1
Sue (lone parent)	2 (Wayne 22; Gary 24)	Scottish	Not working	Newly built house	2
13	32				

Note: all names are pseudonyms.

**Table 2: CYP's Interim Outcomes**

<b>Family composition</b>	<b>Relocation, house type and distance from origin n'hood</b>	<b>CYP Interim Outcomes</b>	<b>Critical moment (CYP or parent)</b>
<i>Lesley (grandmother) - Bryce 3, Paige 7 and Kyle 8</i>	Newly built house, 2 miles	Lesley had sole responsibility for her grandchildren, who all attended school/nursery back in their old neighbourhood, necessitating a bus journey or long walk. Lesley's grandchildren were much happier in the new house (and garden), but of the new neighbourhood she felt <i>"there's nothing here for them"</i> . The children were said to be <i>"doing fine"</i> at school and nursery.	
<i>Ula (mum) &amp; Dad – Zac 5, Pasha 9, Carmel 11</i>	Newly built flat, 1 mile	Even though Ula said her children did not want to move, they settled very quickly in their new house and neighbourhood even though they remained at their primary school, a 15 minute walk away. They made new friends quickly in the new area. Her children had aspirations to do professional jobs like architect, engineer, designer and pharmacist. Ula said her children were doing well at school.	Ula was racially attacked in her new neighbourhood after relocation
<i>Maya (mum) &amp; Dad – Eva 5, Pearl 13, Gabriel 14</i>	Newly built house, 2 miles	Maya found her new neighbourhood much safer but also very quiet with little to offer her children. She eventually got a place in a local nursery for her daughter Eva who had since started at the local primary school and <i>"she's very happy"</i> . Gabriel was already at secondary school so did not need to change school, but Pearl was in her final year of primary school. She moved to a new school close to the new home but found it difficult to settle and got <i>"called names"</i> so she moved back to her original school where she was much happier and the transition to secondary school was smooth. Both children were involved in many activities outside school and were heavily involved with the church. Their mum said her children were happy and were doing well at school with aspirations to do professional jobs like accountancy and medicine.	
<i>Layan (mum) &amp; Dad – Fakhir 11, Karim 22, Omar 25</i>	Newly built house, 8 miles	Moving the furthest distance, Fakhir quickly made friends and became settled in the area and at his new school – <i>"I think within the first few days I made quite a lot of friends"</i> (Fakhir w3). Fakhir enjoyed going to school and was said to be doing very well. He was interested in IT and computing, but said he would like to study architecture at university. Karin was studying mechanical engineering, and Omar trained as an accountant and was looking for work.	Layan died after relocation in 2013
<i>Jackie (mum) – Chloe 14, Andrew 18, Karen 22</i>	Newly built house, 1 mile	Chloe was in her final year of primary school at the time of the move and decided to stay at her old school for the final year. She continued to train in gymnastics several times a week and travelled regularly to national and international competitions. Jackie said Chloe	

		<p>was doing well at secondary school, hoped to take her gymnastics to professional level and become a coach in the future.</p> <p>Andrew wanted to be a sports coach and got a place on a college course that he quit after two years, and got a job for a security firm. He was said to be happy enough had a girlfriend who lived locally. His main interest was football and there were some new opportunities to play through his job.</p> <p>Karen was an administrator for the local council. She now had her own room but spent most of her time at her boyfriend's house.</p>	
<i>Carol (mum) – Laura 16, Emma 18</i>	Older renovated flat, 1 mile	<p>Laura was getting on well since moving. The house move meant she was closer to her school, a walk away, and where she got additional learning support. Her mum hoped she would eventually get a job in hospitality. Laura was said to gain more confidence by joining the cadets.</p> <p>Carol said Emma was intelligent and doing well at school with aspirations to go to university to study microbiology. A year after moving Emma dropped out of school, did not sit any of her exams and stopped speaking to her mother. She also “<i>came out as gay</i>” during this time and eventually got a flat with her girlfriend in a different part of the city. She had a shop job for a short while but was currently unemployed. She had since started talking to her mother and the relationship was said to be improving.</p>	Emma quit school and “came out as gay”
<i>Harry (dad) – Liam 14</i>	Newly built flat, 3 miles	<p>Liam lived with his dad since he was ten years old, after his parents' relationship broke down. Before moving he did not like going to school and was “picked on”. Since the move Liam got his own bedroom as he previously shared with his dad. He had started to do well at school with an improved attendance record and he won a trophy for the school garden. His dad says he is a lot happier and “<i>more settled...moving house has helped a good bit</i>”.</p>	
<i>Alison (mum) – Adam 14, Nicola 22</i>	Newly built house, 1 mile	<p>Alison said Adam was thriving and had gained new friends, more confidence and independence since the move – “<i>he's loving it here</i>”. He was also said to be doing well at school.</p> <p>Nicola reported having a lot of stresses when living in the flats. She had started to do a photography course but dropped out, had a gap year (since relocation), and then went back to college. She said she planned to go to the art school to do a photography course when she got her college qualification. Nicola's plan was to complete her studies and then get her own house, but in the same area and maybe just across the road from where her mum lived.</p>	

<i>Nada (mum) &amp; Dad – Dama 14, Tala 20, Ahmed 21, Housam 23</i>	Newly built house, 5 miles	Dama was said to be happy in her new home and had made friends with the neighbours, but she wanted to remain at her previous secondary school, about an hour's commute away. Since her sister's death, Dama was said to be doing well at school and hoped to go to University to do something in computing. All the older CYP were in employment (home care; managerial position; trainee accountant).	Their 21 year old sister/daughter died from cancer after the move
<i>Aisha (mum) – Mark 14</i>	Tenement flat, 1 mile	Prior to moving Aisha said Mark was a bright and happy boy with a lot of friends, doing well at school. Not long after relocation Mark was diagnosed with a serious psychiatric condition, spending five months in an adolescent inpatient unit. Since returning to school Mark failed most of his exams. His illness and medication had affected his life in that he felt very tired and his friends did not understand what has happened and <i>“Mark feels embarrassed wi' everything”</i> . Aisha thought he hoped to be a mechanic in the future.	Mark became ill after relocation
<i>Rachel (mum) &amp; Dad – Ryan 16, Kelly 19, Darren 23</i>	Newly built house, 1 mile	Ryan was active in the community with the local football team and youth club. Since the move he reported being happier and had made new friends and connections in the area, particularly playing football for a new team. He had done well at school and had a local college place to train to be a sports coach. Kelly had a job as a full time support worker for disabled people, and was spending less time in the area, whereas previously she had been active in the community. Darren had a full time job as a mechanic. His parents said he had settled well into the new area as he knew a lot of people before moving. His girlfriend had moved into the new house and they were expecting a baby. Darren's plan, according to Rachel, was that <i>“he wants a hoose here as well. He wants a house in [this area]”</i> .	Darren and his partner were expecting a baby
<i>Heather (mum) &amp; Dad – Amy 17, Ian 19</i>	Newly built house, 1 mile	Ian and Amy were reported to be much happier since the short move from the high rise flats to a new house across the road. They previously had to share a room so acquired their own space in the new house. Ian's main interest was computers and gaming, and he had planned to stay on at school into sixth form and become <i>“a games designer or historian of some sort, because I'm good at history, as well”</i> (Ian w1). However he left school at 16 with some qualifications. He was doing a computing course at the local college and had weekend job in a computer shop. Amy was doing well at secondary school. She excelled at running and her parents moved her to a secondary school that specialised in sport. She was also involved in a premier athletics club and said <i>“I'm gonna stay on and I'm gonna go to university.... A PE teacher, I want to be”</i> (Amy w1). When she reached 16, her dad said <i>“she just changed her way and as time went on, she wanted to do something else”</i> . She worked in a shoe shop for a short while, and then got a place at the local college to train to be a beautician.	

<i>Sue (mum) – Wayne 22, Gary 24</i>	Newly built house, 2 miles	Sue did not see much of her sons: they were both working and she did not say much about their lives. She had two grandsons, who lived with their mother, who visited occasionally although she saw less of them since moving (having hoped she would see more of them).	Attempted suicide (Sue)

Table 3: CYP's Interim Outcomes – Significant Factors

	<b>Relocation-related</b>	<b>Non-relocation-related</b>
Younger children	More opportunities for activities in the area (+) Playing and socialising outside (+) Enhanced safety and security (+) Fewer local opportunities (-) <b>Victimisation of mother *</b> (-)	Availability of family car (+) Financial constraints on grandmother as main carer and associated worry (-) <b>Death of mother*</b> (-)
Teenagers	Acquiring own room (+) Family gaining more space (+) Better performance at school (+) Bullied at new school (overcome) (-) Unsettling effects of sub-optimal relocation (-)	Interest in gymnastics (+) Interest in extra-curricular activities (+) School support and provision of college place (+) <b>Illness and death of sister*</b> (-) <b>Development of psychiatric condition*</b> (-)
School leavers	More opportunities to pursue hobby/interest (+) Loss of voluntary sector involvement in old area (-)	Having/getting a job (+) Getting college place (+) Acquiring a boyfriend/girlfriend (+) <b>Coming out as gay*</b>
Young adults	Acquiring own room (+) Improved family space and conditions (+) Getting away from stresses of antisocial behaviour (+) Better conditions for pregnant girlfriend/baby to move into house (+)	Having a job (+) Having a boyfriend (+) <b>Illness and death of sister*</b> (-) <b>Death of mother*</b> (-)

\* defined as “critical moments”

Table 4: Critical Moments and Relocation/Context Effects

Positive Relocation/Context Effect →	Critical moment	← Negative Relocation/Context Effect
Greater family support + <i>Seeing children happy in new location</i> +	Victimisation (of mother)	- <i>Loss of previous community.</i>
	Child psychiatric condition	- <i>Sub-optimal relocation.</i> Parental difficulties. - Loss of friends. - Lack of school support.
<i>Family being closer</i> + Supportive school + <i>Ability to engage wider interests</i> +	Death of sibling	
<i>Family being closer</i> + Supportive school + <i>Better home conditions</i> +	Death of mother	
	Coming out	-Lack of school and family support

*Italics* indicates relocation effect.